

RUBBER!

Drawn by James Montgomery Flagg



James Montgomery Flagg

Copyright, 1915, James Montgomery Flagg.

U. S. A CONQUEST SEEKING BULLY, VIEW OF SOME LATIN AMERICANS

Newspaper Opinion in Southern Part of Continent Asserts That Our Policies May Endanger Future

By ERNEST GILMORE GARDNER.

WHAT does Latin America really think of the United States? The question that occurred to me after hearing Dr. Ascanio de Bogota, Colombia, express his views on the foreign policy of the State Department. It was February last, on the steamer Tenadores, Havana to Colon, that the discussion arose.

"The United States is a nation of conquest; it seeks territorial expansion," insisted Dr. Ascanio, a man who has traveled the world over and is an excellent example of the educated Latin American.

I assured him he was in error and pointed to the friendly advances of the United States in the A B C negotiations, showing the desire of Uncle Sam to work with the Latin American nations rather than against and the desire to see them assume their just share of the problems of the western hemisphere governments.

"For example," continued the doctor, "look at the history of the United States. Study it closely, and whether the published words of the Yankees bear out their desires or not, they have steadily continued to acquire territory since the revolution against Great Britain."

"Originally thirteen colonies at the signing of peace in 1783, they purchased Louisiana from the French in 1803 for \$15,000,000. Florida they acquired from the Spanish for \$5,000,000 after General Jackson had invaded Spanish territory to put down outbreaks against Spanish rule in 1819. Texas revolted from Mexico, abetted by citizens of the United States who went to Texas for that very purpose. In fact your histories glory in the Alamo, in Davy Crockett, he who compelled the squires to come down from the tree-tops, and others who had no business abetting a revolution against Mexican rule. Texas was annexed to the United States in 1845 even while the Mexican Government had hopes of quelling the revolt."

"Oregon was acquired by treaty and surrender of all English rights in 1846, and in the same year war was declared against Mexico, which being defeated was forced to cede to the United States all the territory now occupied by New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming and California, although the United States did pay Mexico \$15,000,000 and assume claims of American citizens amounting to \$3,250,000 more. In this money payment the United States tacitly acknowledged Mexico was partly right in her claims and figured that money would be a balm for national loss."

"In 1868 Mexico was paid \$10,000,000 to rectify certain 'errors' in the boundary as laid down in the treaty of peace. This was called the 'Gadsden Purchase.' In 1867 Alaska was purchased from Russia for \$7,200,000. Even while you were at war with Spain the fever to acquire territory took shape in the annexation of Hawaii in 1898. Defeat of Spain brought the Yankees possession of

Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippine Islands, and actual control of Cuba. Although some people say it is a free republic, yet it is hemmed in with naval stations of the United States on its shores. If it doesn't conform to Washington ideas in government troops are landed to 'restore' order."

"Samoa was annexed in 1900, and the 'crime of Panama' perpetrated in 1904. One of your ex-presidents shamelessly boasted that he 'took Panama' from a weak and friendly nation, unable to resist the theft. The United States occupies in some respects the position of the big bully who'll stoop to robbing babies of their candy."

"Nicaragua and Costa Rica are practically owned by the United States through 'dollar' diplomacy. The United States have not had war with a nation of any importance for over a hundred years and have always proved the aggressor when warring with a smaller nation."

"They would have interfered in Mexico but for the knowledge that the Mexicans came of fighting stock and the fear of possible military disaster. Mexico could produce an army of 150,000 to 200,000 hardened fighters, every man a marksman, while the United States would have to fall back upon an indifferent citizen soldiery, with hordes of foreign elements within their own borders and Japan awaiting an opportunity to catch the United States off its guard and at a disadvantage."

"Why, to-day Mexico has a better drilled army than the United States, with more than double the amount of artillery and machine guns. There is no denying it, for the facts will bear me out."

"Flirting with the Latin American republics will not make them love you more nor respect you, for they are fully awake to the intentions of the United States and the attempt to pull the wool over their eyes. They are gradually becoming prepared to resent any intrusion on Latin American rights on the part of the Yankees, and I should not be surprised if the near future witnesses defensive agreements entered into among the Latin American nations for mutual protection. When you people next attempt to steal Latin American territory you'll do it over the bodies of liberty loving Americans and by force of arms only. You'll find the Americans of the tanned skin can fight for his rights equally as well as Americans of the white skin."

This was the opinion of an educated South American, and in Buenos Ayres five months later his words came to me with remarkable force."

It was in a cafe where a prominent Argentinean and myself lingered over the 4 o'clock tea and cakes, a delightful custom brought from England.

"You must not think," he was saying, "that you have belittled the real issue in the international politics of the Western Hemisphere with your A B C policy, for although we are highly flattered by the United States appealing to us to aid them in their

Mexican muddle we still must remember you are a nation bent upon conquest. Even if you honestly believe to the contrary," he continued after I had made a remark of dissent, "your very greatness, your rapidly growing population, your increasing importance in world affairs, will compel your Government to take a step for territorial expansion. It is the history of nations, and what has happened before with great republics will happen again."

"You may even be compelled to expand for defensive purposes, for who knows but that the next great world war will be a contest between the white and yellow races, and the United States represents and will represent when that time comes the greatest source of power, inventive genius and wealth worthy to wage the contest for the survival of the white race."

"If the British Empire should happen to be broken up through German victory, all of which cannot be considered impossible although improbable, what will the remnants do and to what nation will they look for protection and governmental aid? As independent entities they would soon be swallowed up in some larger scheme of empire. Canada would become part of the United States without a doubt. Other British colonies in time would follow suit. No, my friend, your people are destined to become greater and greater until the final downfall which comes to all nations."

"Of that growth every Latin American is apprehensive. What will become of his own national integrity in the growing process? Will the North American eagle swallow the South American condor?"

"The opening of the Panama Canal spells progress for South America, but may it not also lead to national death or even losing control of its financial and industrial future, which would be almost as bad? The Panama Canal strengthens the power of the South American countries, but puts them more and more at the mercy of the 'Yanquis' when they feel the time has come. Your protestations of friendship now are but a handful of dust in our eyes, is the view held by many of us Latin Americans."

"Yes, and I may tell you that when that time comes you may not find us altogether unprepared. Latin America is learning to put aside petty differences and to act more as a unit. The dream of patriots may yet come true, a United States of South America as powerful as the United States of North America."

"Our little national differences are being swept aside in the march of progress and scientific advance. Look at the treaty recently (May, 1915) signed by Argentina, Brazil and Chile—something our diplomats have been trying to have done for years. It is an agreement to set aside any possibility of war among ourselves. You recall last month how the Chancellors of the three Governments, Muller of Brazil, Lira of Chile and Murature of Argentina, met and formulated the treaty, and how enthusiastically the idea was accepted by the people. There was a reason for the satisfaction expressed on all sides that lies hidden in the verbiage of the treaty, perhaps in a secret document hidden away in the files of our foreign departments."

"Ask the man in the street or club of the business man, and listen to what he says. You'll be surprised at the unanimity of belief in this secret agreement that pledges the A B C nations to maintain the territorial rights on all Latin American questions. I am convinced too that the belief of this understanding is what is keeping your State Department from interfering in the affairs of Mexico. Not only does your Government hesitate to pay the price in human lives, and what apparently seems to be of more importance the cost in dollars and cents, but it fears the action of the Governments of South America."

"Of course," he condescendingly con-

tinued, "if the United States would give us satisfactory guarantees that she would immediately retire from Mexico once peace and order are established, without any oppressive restrictions, we might consent to permit an attempt being made, but the guarantees would have to be such there could be no hair splitting afterward in trying to hold territory or secure an indemnity."

There you have the average Argentinean view; it is the Chilean and the Brazilian, the Peruvian and the Ecuadorian, the latter who never refers to us as North Americans or Americans, but in a term of derision, "the Yanquis."

In the cafes and clubs or the lob-

bies of hotels where men congregate and gossip about business or the war or other international affairs the belief of the territorial aspirations of the United States is common, as is the necessity of unity of international action among the Latin American republics in order to oppose effectively any aggressive attempt on the part of the "Yanquis" to absorb or control the destinies of their national existence."

In the columns of the Latin American newspapers appear from time to time hints of alarm at the growing power of the United States and possibilities of some future administration wielding the "big stick" a la Panama. But now that the State De-

Smaller Republics Alarmed at Possibility of A B C Agreement Threatening Their Territorial Integrity

partment of the United States has tacitly acknowledged itself, so they believe, unable to handle the Mexican situation alone, but asked the aid of the South American republics, this fear is passing. The weakness of our military and naval forces has been shown up in Congressional conversations, in the daily press, and apparently nothing done to improve conditions. The mass of Latin Americans firmly believe in our fear of Japan and her ambitions, our lack of definite foreign policy and the indifferent manner in which we protect American lives and American property, either in European waters or in South America."

The Chilean, who is proud of his German trained army and the strong reserve force always ready within twenty-four hours to march to the front, can tell you how the combined navies of Argentina, Brazil and Chile equal those of the United States, and how much superior the trained armies of the A B C nations, with the reserves, are to the untrained hordes of the "Yanquis."

In Brazil they talk of better railway communications between that country and Argentina and Chile, so that in case of international trouble bodies of troops can be moved quickly from one point to another, as well as facilitating commerce and uniting the nations in bonds of steel."

Precisely another fear has arisen in the minds of the smaller and less powerful South American nations, Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador. What does this understanding among Argentina, Brazil and Chile mean for them? May it not be a menace to their future interests?

There is a latent feeling in Peru against Chile ever since the Arica-Tacna provinces were taken by the latter from the former after the war of 1880. There is a fear Chile may feel that her place in the sun extends into the tropics, and the Chileans are called "the Yankees of the South" because of their progress and ingenuity. Bolivia, a nation without a seaport, the one it formerly possessed being taken by Chile back in 1889 when Chile defeated both Bolivia and Peru, fears also for her national existence. Her great mineral richness is a constant temptation to her surrounding neighbors."

Brazil has just finished the Mamore-Madagra Railway around the rapids of the Madeira River, which empties into the Amazon. Ocean steamers load and unload in the heart of Brazilian forests over 2,000 miles from the Atlantic Ocean and close to the Bolivian frontier and the great rubber district."

Argentina is extending her railways up into the Grand Chaco district and into Bolivia toward La Paz. They will extend into and through the great oil field of Bolivia as well as the coal fields in the eastern part. Argentina possesses no fuel and must import all it uses."

Bolivia views with alarm this union of her neighbors. In Santiago as well as in Tucuman or Matto Grosso there are whisperings of what

wonderful opportunities there would be in Bolivia if their own country owned it. So Bolivia is on tenterhooks."

Uruguay has been part of both Argentina and Brazil, separating from the latter country in its final independence. It may be Brazil would like to extend her boundaries to the Rio de la Plata, for Uruguay possesses grazing plains and other resources that any nation would be glad to possess."

Paraguay lies in between Brazil and Argentina, and since their recent revolution some of her people fear she may be squeezed between the two milions."

All of these possibilities my Argentinean friend suggested.

"I don't think we would object to Chile growing to the north or into Bolivia, where her interests are great, provided we grow likewise where our greater interests lie, nor would we object to Brazil spreading provided we spread in an equal fashion."

The A B C policy of the State Department for the past few years has caused South America to be much puffed up over its own importance. So much so that *La Nacion*, the great Buenos Aires daily, a semi-Government organ, in a recent editorial raised at President Wilson for presuming to send a note to Germany regarding the rights of neutrals on the high seas in connection with the Lusitania sinking without first having conferred with Argentina and the other A B C nations. It went on to say that the rights of neutrals was a question of as much importance to them as to the North Americans, and the interests of the Western Hemisphere demanded that the United States should consult with them before taking any steps. Argentina's head is swelling."

While envious of the success of the United States, which gained independence but a short time earlier, the Latin American republics ridicule the foreign policy that does not protect its investors and bankers and lets its citizens rot in the prisons before protecting their rights and defending them. Great Britain is admired as a strong nation because of the uncompromising protection afforded her citizens in any part of the world."

Many contempt for our business methods and commercial efforts they yet fear the latent power of the United States. The "big stick" policy of a former Administration is still remembered. The memory of James G. Blaine is still alive in Chile, where was impressed upon the public the importance of respecting the rights of American citizens and sailors as well as the flag."

One of the greatest lessons in respect for the United States and what it stands for was taught by the American fleet the time President Roosevelt sent it around South America via the Strait of Magellan. They still talk about it in South America, for it was one of the sights of the century."

JOSE PARDO, PERU'S NEW PRESIDENT



Jose Pardo.

JOSE PARDO has again assumed the Presidency of the republic of Peru, and now that South America and South American affairs are attracting the notice of the United States, his career and record of service are of special interest.

Mr. Pardo was born in Lima some fifty years ago, the third son of the famous statesman Manuel Pardo, himself a former President of the republic. During the early years of his life Mr. Pardo devoted his attention to the family estates, the principal production of which is sugar cane. Turning to politics, he was elected President of the republic for the term 1904-08, and it is his achievements during this period that promise a stable government."

The benefits derived by the country during Mr. Pardo's previous term of office, where the reforms were effected, show that numerous treaties were signed, as well as diplomatic agreements, which paved the way for the amicable solution of the grave frontier disputes with the neighboring republics."

Such institutions as the Superior Academy of War, the Intendencia, the Department of Military Hygiene and the Fencing Academy were all founded under his regime, the practice of sending deserving members of both arms to foreign armies and navies and the establishment of schools in the barracks originating likewise with him. The bringing up to date of the field artillery, the erection of suitable manufacturing plants and of several barracks in different localities are also directly due to the initiative of Mr. Pardo in military matters."

Mr. Pardo was always a firm advocate of the construction of railways. During his last term the important lines of Sicuani to Cuzco and Oroya to Huancayo were completed and given over to public service, while those of Chilet, Tumbes and the Rio to Moquegua line were nearing completion, and the first section of the Huancayo to Ayacucho line begun."

Under his direction and with the equitable distribution of taxes the revenue from all sources, which up to 1904 was barely \$7,000,000, had risen to almost \$15,000,000 gold."

Peru, a nation without a seaport, the one it formerly possessed being taken by Chile back in 1889 when Chile defeated both Bolivia and Peru, fears also for her national existence. Her great mineral richness is a constant temptation to her surrounding neighbors."

Brazil has just finished the Mamore-Madagra Railway around the rapids of the Madeira River, which empties into the Amazon. Ocean steamers load and unload in the heart of Brazilian forests over 2,000 miles from the Atlantic Ocean and close to the Bolivian frontier and the great rubber district."

Argentina is extending her railways up into the Grand Chaco district and into Bolivia toward La Paz. They will extend into and through the great oil field of Bolivia as well as the coal fields in the eastern part. Argentina possesses no fuel and must import all it uses."

Bolivia views with alarm this union of her neighbors. In Santiago as well as in Tucuman or Matto Grosso there are whisperings of what

wonderful opportunities there would be in Bolivia if their own country owned it. So Bolivia is on tenterhooks."

Uruguay has been part of both Argentina and Brazil, separating from the latter country in its final independence. It may be Brazil would like to extend her boundaries to the Rio de la Plata, for Uruguay possesses grazing plains and other resources that any nation would be glad to possess."